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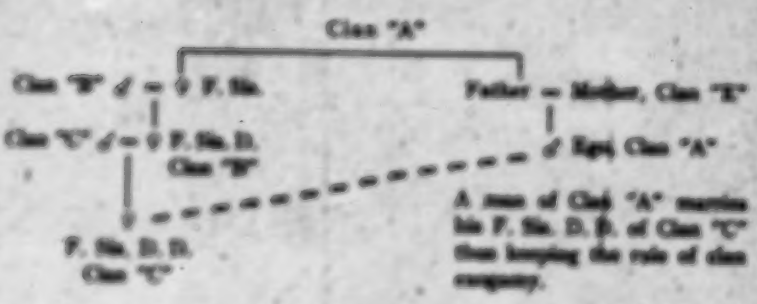
[605] [589]


Class "A"
Class "B" ♂ — ♀ F. Sis.
Father — Mother, Class "E"
Class "C" ♂ — ♀ F. Sis. D.
Class "B"
♂ Equ, Class "A"
A man of Cl. "A" marries his F. Sis. D. D. of Class "C" thus keeping the rule of class exogamy.
F. Sis. D. D.
Class "C"

This statement was not supported by any of my genealogies; but this does not necessarily mean that the practice was never followed, and my informants insisted that this type of marriage was not only allowed, but actually took place in the past. On the other hand, they said that marriage with any other kind of cousin within the clan was "very bad". In actual fact, however, marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter was probably not common, even in the past, and to-day would be quite impossible, partly from disparity of age (though this is not in itself a serious bar), and partly from the shortage of women and lack of wealth. If a man was a *Piroyot*, he might be allowed [illegible] but would [illegible] be suitable only as a second wife, a luxury out of the reach of most Dorobo. An equally serious objection lies in the fact that owing to the small number of clans, a man's mother may often be of his own clan and thus barred from marriage with him.

8. The Second Descending Generation

(Man speaking)

The term *ekwi* covers most of this generation: it includes the children of one's own children (grandchildren), children of brother's and sister's children, children of father's brother's grandchildren, and children of father's sister's grandchildren. The children of mother's brother's grandchildren are *mama*, and of the mother's sister's grandchildren, *kwenda*. Thus a man's own grandchildren are classed as grandparents.

[601]

(Woman speaking)

Grandchildren are *ekwi*; grandchildren of brother and sister are *ongo*, and of mother's sister, *aiye*; the rest are *ekwi*.

AFFINALS:

(Man speaking)

Wife is *mamnia*; wife's brother, *kwayit*, and his wife, *pakwe*; wife's sister, *pakwi*, and her husband, *kipakwiat*. Wife's parents are *pamwan* (m.) and *pakwe* (f.). Wife's brother's and sister's children are *ayian* (m.) and *pakwe* (f.).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

593 [808] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *kesunda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *kesunda* group, the children [605] of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. Both their mother's sister's sons Kikuror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngaterpkong, and Kikuror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *kesundaeyyon* and would greet them as *kesunda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

609 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

●603 601 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's father and the mother's father (their wives being *koko*), and these two are often referred to as *koko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimugamugan", or "my *akui* was Nereun", his statement was amplified by saying "the father of my father, *koko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *koko* or *koko* (some were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *loiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *murukor* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to ego's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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The senior *macokor* are seldom alive in a man's lifetime, and all those in the 3rd ascending generation were dead before Pilo was born. The terms therefore are merely of reference, and that this is so is emphasized by the word *makikat*, "one who is not greeted".

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On the right hand side of the genealogy of Pilo are given the terms used by his elder sister Kicoti, who married a Dorobo of the *Kimnyiki* age named Manyepai, where we find additional groups:

The first ascending generation is now divided into two: (A) the father of Kicoti, his brothers and sister and their spouses, who are *papa* and *sindet*; and (B) her mother, her mother's sister and her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren, and her mother's brother's wife, all of whom are *eiyo*. (A female *eiyo*'s husband is *konyit*, and a male *eiyo*'s wife is *pukot*, except that Seratet, the mother's brother, is *apulaiyo*.) The father's sister has the same term as his brother's wife, *sindet*.

Kicoti calls her brother and sister *kesenda*, just as Pilo calls her *kesenda*; but whereas Pilo calls his own and Coimim's children *apaa*, and the children of both his sisters, *mama*, Kicoti calls her own children *lakuat* and those of her brothers and sister *senge*, and the grandchildren and great grandchildren of her mother's sister *eiyo* (which latter Pilo calls *kesenda*).

The mother's brother group is called by four terms instead of one, and the mother's brother himself and his children are not *mama* but *apulaiyo*; his grandchildren and great grandchildren are *akui*; and Kicoti's sister's children are *senge*, while her own are *lakuat*: all these are called

The two brothers of Manyepai, for whom Pilo has no term (he would refer to them as *poiyat*, "old man", and if necessary define their position) are called *konyit* by Kicoti, and the wife of Kimóken her husband's brother is *sindet*. Her husband's father and mother are *pakuo* and *póker*, though outside the *tilist* for Pilo. Her husband's father's father is outside the *tiliet* for her. As regards the use of *konyit* and *pukut* for spouses, the female terminology is the same as the male for *macokor* and *kesenda*, but

the wife of an *apulaiyo* (m. br.) is always *eiyo*;
the wife of an *apulaiyo* (own generation) is always *pukot*;
the husband of an *apulaiyo* (own. gen) is always *konyit*;
the wife of an *eiyo* is always *pukot*; and
the husband of an *eiyo* (except own mother) is always *konyit*.

Contrast with the Nandi system

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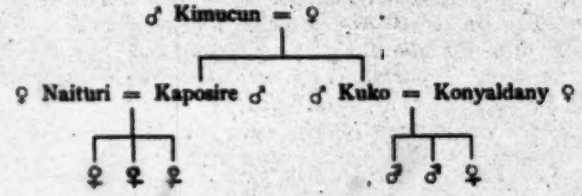
The Dorobo relationship system is much less regular than that of the Nandi, and has a greater mixture of terms. Moreover it includes a greater number of people than the Nandi, which counts the following as outside the *tilist*:

A. Father's mother's brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).
B. Mother's parents' brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ficatory mother, *eiyo*, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping her husband's brother's wife; and being younger than the grandmother, can give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead:



To Kaposire's children, Konyaldany took the place of the grandmother; and Naituri did the same for Kuko's children,. The father's brother is the equivalent, as an authority in the lives of children, of the mother's brother among the Nandi and elsewhere, and is as near as possible a second father. Patrilocal residence as well as other factors no doubt account for this; and the effect is that the father's brother is someone to be reckoned with, a man with whom a boy should keep on good terms, and one of whom permission must be obtained before a boy is circumcised. Kimutai arap Ruto is Arap Mining's brother. He lived in the same settlement at Kipukua, and saw his brother's children every day. When he greeted them, he said, *Sopai, leiyo*, and they answered, *Epa, papa*. (Here *leiyo* is used loosely as a term of familiarity.) The father's brother gives the children food and other things; he teaches them much of what it is necessary for them to know, and when they ask him questions, like what is this grass called? what are you going to do with that piece of wood? what made those marks on the ground? and so forth, he answers them in such a way that question and answer become part of their education. He shows them his bow, arrows, and quiver, his knives, his honey bags. He takes them into the forest and tells them how people look after their bees, how they make honey-barrels, and how they take honey. He teaches them to use firesticks, and explains the magical observances towards bees and honey.

The mother's brother, *mama*, the father's sister, *puko*, and their spouses (f. *mamay* m. *konyit*) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all Dorobo to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him; and in one or two cases when I was taking down genealogies men had to ask their friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

Yet on occasion the mother's brother is accorded a respect that is not his customary due. Arap Mining was a great follower of tradition, but

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normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire lakuet*; *makicupe kokeny papa*; *makimuoci korket ok eiyo nalek ce somis, amu ya, ngut nalek ap kumisiet*; *kiurerencinkei tukul*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

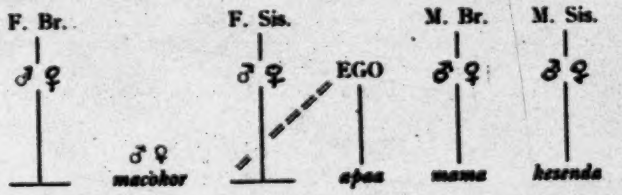
It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celolei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupshi, kiwerencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngul kum kamat', amu ki lakak.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor*, *mama*, and *kesenda*, which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor*, his *mama*, and his *kesenda*, is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:



so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor*, while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa*, while those of his sister are *mama*. When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

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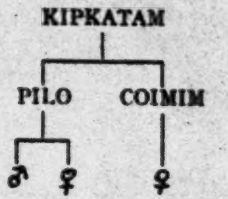
603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.



[587] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [589] even if the disparity in age is but small.

606 Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkumuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *ureriet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no loose talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

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the other hand, there should be no *ureriet*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesunguny who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesunguny would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiroinet* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere opeku lakocu ce mooipua omituakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amut, konereket, amu maoipcin omituakik araaek ce cau, kocupok, kole, "Sere, opekun lakocu".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ono, eiyo! Kokocupei koko, kole, "Sere, opekun".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Moomuen, lakocu, mawecok koko, kocamok, a mutai kipendi olinnyin si kiipcin melekto.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiis, miye noto, si kocam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiis, kepe korun, . . . Kiipcin ns, si kocam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi korun, si kiipcin nyanyait ok lokomek.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.

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603 754 598 Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sere kaaunŭok ako ra opaipaiitun* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606 Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkorom, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *si keam lokoi* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kaola used to live at Cepkunyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipukua ; but in July 1939 he moved to Kipkorom, as his son Leii was working on Kapchorua Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaola and his wife in a maize *shamba* belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Leii, a *Maina*, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore 604 *mama* to his children ; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipukua to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children ; and Cepkumuren taught her children to like Leii, who would greet them by saying *Sopai, lakocu* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sere, lakocu* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Epa, mama* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Leii never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kimutai did ; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

614 The clan, *orot*, plural *ortinnoh*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tlond ap orot*, or simply *tlondo*, "the animal (of the clan)". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census ; the remaining three are reputed to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each ; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names ; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these [197] names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is